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Reagan's Shift to Center Brings Attacks From Right

The following article is based on reporting by Bernard Weinraub and Judith Miller and was written by Miss Miller.

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WASHINGTON, Jan. 24 — In its first days in office, the Reagan Administration has found itself under attack from conservative legislators and activists who were among Ronald Reagan's earliest and most ardent supporters.

The attacks focus on two separate but overlapping themes: the naming of "moderate" and "nonideological" Republicans, and even Democrats, to Cabinet and other high-level jobs, and the fear that these nominations indicate President Reagan will not carry out his conservative campaign pledges.

"We've all been had," a conservative aide on Capitol Hill concluded in an interview yesterday. "We boys on the right have gotten snookered."

In the last week Senator Jesse Helms, Republican of North Carolina, and the Senate Steering Committee, a loosely knit group of 20 conservatives, attempted to block the nominations of Frank C. Carlucci, designated to be Deputy Secretary of Defense, and four sub-Cabinet officials in the State Department.

'Gerald Ford Republicans'

Beyond this, members of the party's right wing have expressed dismay at the appointments of Donald T. Regan as Secretary of the Treasury, Samuel R. Pierce Jr. as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and T. H. Bell as Secretary of Education. They view these men as "Gerald Ford Republicans."

Mr. Carlucci, who held the No. 2 post in the Central Intelligence Agency under President Carter, is regarded as "a liberal, a friend of Walter Mondale's," according to John T. Dolan, chairman of the National Conservative Political Action Committee, which helped defeat several liberal senators in the 1980 election.

"I think Reagan has chosen to surround himself with people who simply do not share the same vision of America that he has," Mr. Dolan said. "It's mind-boggling that conservative, pro-Reagan activists are being bumped off job lists, while people who have no commitment to Ronald Reagan are being given jobs."

Other conservative Reagan loyalists are equally shaken. "Something has gone very wrong," said Richard A. Viguerie, a conservative publisher and direct mail expert.

Howard Phillips, national director of the Conservative Caucus, a lobbying group, said, "What I fear is that in the 1984 election judgment will be passed on true conservatism without having, in fact, been tried."

Many Senate Republicans, whose support Mr. Reagan needs to fulfill his major campaign promises, are deeply angered that of conservatives who served on Mr. Reagan's national security and foreign policy transition teams have been virtually excluded from senior Government posts.

Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger, for example, dismissed the entire transition team on defense the day after his nomination, and no member of the transition team for the C.I.A. has been appointed to a senior post in that agency.

More broadly, Senator Helms and others are known to be concerned that William J. Casey, Director of Central Intelligence, has apparently rejected major reorganization proposals aimed at strengthening the nation's intelligence capabilities. These proposals were made in reports prepared by the transition team and by the Heritage Foundation, a conservative research group.

Rare Senate Tactic Invoked

Mr. Helms has put a "hold" on Mr. Carlucci's Pentagon nomination, a Senate tactic rarely invoked but traditionally respected, to block Senate action on his appointment, and has told Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. that he was prepared to place similar holds on prospective State Department nominees that the Steering Committee opposes.

They include Lawrence S. Eagleburger, a former aide to Henry A. Kissinger and now the United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia, who is expected to be nominated as Assistant Secretary of State for European affairs; Paul D. Wolfowitz, former Defense Department official in the Carter Administration who is Mr. Haig's choice for director of policy planning; John H. Holdridge, former United States Ambassador to Singapore, who served under Mr. Haig on the National Security Council staff, in line for Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs, and Chester A. Crocker, a Georgetown University professor who is expected to be named Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs.

Compounding conservative anger over specific appointments is the vague but powerful sense that Reagan loyalists, including regional and state directors in last year's campaign, have been bypassed for jobs in favor of traditional and nonideological bureaucrats.

Illinois Campaign Chairman Cited

"Some of these people have absolutely no interest in Ronald Reagan, do not care what he stands for and may have actually voted against him," said a key Senate Republican aide who asked not to be identified. "Why were these people selected? I think the personnel people and Ed Meese don't want to ruffle the waters and are

just more comfortable with establishment kind of folks."

Edwin Meese 3d, the White House chief of staff; E. Pendleton James, a longtime personnel and recruiting executive, and Peter McPherson, acting counsel to Mr. Reagan, are cited as among the key figures who have selected Administration personnel.

Mr. Viguerie cited the example of Dan Pott, chairman of Mr. Reagan's campaign in Illinois last year, who sought the post of Secretary of Education that was given, instead, to Mr. Bell.

Right-wingers are also angered at reports that Donald J. Devine, a conservative professor of political science at the University of Maryland, has not been named director of the Office of Personnel Management because he is "too conservative."

Some senior Republicans, including the Senate majority leader, Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee, do not see these signs of discontent as a threat.

Asked if he believed that the Steering Committee might thwart the Republican Party's ability to carry out the President's program, Senator Baker replied, "I do not believe it constitutes a threat to Ronald Reagan's policies."

Temporary 'Hold' to Be Honored

Mr. Baker, pressed on whether he would honor Mr. Helms's request to put a "hold" on several nominations, replied that he would respect any Senator's request for such action for 24 hours. He indicated, however, that he would not honor such a request indefinitely and that action on nominations was essentially "a leadership decision."

Other Republicans on Capitol Hill and elsewhere say, however, that the Reagan Administration and the President's conservative constituents may be heading for a series of confrontations whose outcome could imperil the new Administration's promises of swift and dramatic action to solve the nation's problems.

Nevertheless, the conservatives seem unwilling to back down. They maintain that the hiring and promotion of nonloyalists, which has been called an effort to broaden Mr. Reagan's political base, will weaken his programs and serve to "betray" his strongest supporters.

"To say that Reagan has to employ country-club, silk-stocking George Bush Republicans is garbage," Mr. Dolan said. "That didn't win him the election. He won by broadening his base to the ethnics, the blue-collar vote, the born-again Southern Democrats."

"Reagan has a commitment to these people and he's got to live up to it," Mr. Dolan added. "He didn't win by being a centrist, he won because he's conservative."